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Whose voice called to the Sword, "Be thou our master"?
 Whose breath was quick to blow
 War's smouldering coals into a wide disaster?
 Whose hands made haste to sow
 Hate's poisonous tares among the wheat to grow?
 What specious tongue was bold to gloze and plaster
 The front of truth lest men its face should know?
 Who led the sheep unto the wolf—what pastor?
 Toll!

Toll! toll, ye bells! for manhood's choice and flower
 Slain in the morning glow.
 Toll! let the knell roll from your ancient tower
 For joy and hope laid low.
 Toll, toll! 'twas man that dealt to man the blow!
 Would he had vindicated reason's power,
 Would he had overcome by faith! but no,
 The doves fly moaning from your ivied bower—
 Toll!

Enfield, England, June, 1898.

The Message of the Czar.

BY MARY C. FRY.

Listen! From a far land comes a word
 Deep, majestic, strong,
 'Mid the nations' fretful clamor heard,
 Sweeter than a song;

Echo of that angel song of old,
 Singing peace, goodwill,
 Angel voices, tuned to harps of gold,
 Singing, singing still.

'Tis a note of kingly might and love,
 Smitten from the strings;
 'Tis a message sent of God above
 To earth's mightiest kings.

God can move the hearts of proudest kings,
 Touch their lips with grace,
 Send their words upon the swiftest wings,
 To their chosen place.

To Nicholas II.

BY KATHERINE HANSON AUSTIN.

"Te Duce, Caesar."

[*Quintus Horatius Flaccus Ad Augustum.*]

With bated breath the nations stand.
 Our hearts salute the wondrous word
 Wherewith, O King, thy lips are stirred,—
 A word more potent than command.

Articulate at last, it sounds
 The hope of millions waiting dumb,
 Blindfold and baffled.—Lo! we come!
 We know our leader. Hate hath bounds,

But love is boundless. Hate shall cease
 In aeons yet beyond the dawn
 Wherein our lifted eyes are drawn
 To seek far-shining, sacred Peace.

The Tolstoï Fund.

IN AID OF THE PERSECUTED DOUKHOBORTSI IN RUSSIA.

NEW YORK, October 25th, 1898.

Count Leo Tolstoï, whose seventieth birthday has recently been celebrated, writes to a correspondent in this country urging the raising of funds to aid in the emigration of the oppressed Doukhobortsi. These people—thrifty, industrious farmers, some ten thousand in number—form a protestant sect whose tenets resemble those of the Quakers. Their only offense is their refusal from conscientious scruples to serve in the Russian army. For this reason they have been repeatedly exiled from one part of the empire to another, and so persecuted and maltreated by the government officials that their position in their own country has become intolerable. With much difficulty they have obtained permission to emigrate to foreign lands, and steps have been taken to settle them, temporarily at least, in the Island of Cyprus, but it is hoped that they may eventually reach America. There is urgent need of funds to enable them to take advantage of the privilege to emigrate which has been accorded to them. A committee has already been formed in London to raise money for this purpose, and the undersigned have been constituted a committee to co-operate with them in America. It seems appropriate that such money as is collected should be offered to the Doukhobortsi through Count Tolstoï, and that in honor of the seventieth anniversary of his birth, it should be called the Tolstoï Fund. This cause lies close to the heart of the distinguished Russian and nothing could give him greater joy than its success. We appeal to all of our fellow-citizens who believe in liberty—in the freedom of man to abstain from taking up arms against his brother man—to contribute as they may be able to this worthy object.

Contributions of any amount may be sent to ISAAC N. SELIGMAN, ESQ., Treasurer of the Committee, Mills Building, New York.

WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS, New York.

JANE ADAMS, Hull House, Chicago.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Boston.

GEORGE DANA BOARDMAN, D.D., Philadelphia.

N. O. NELSON, St. Louis.

BOLTON HALL, New York.

ERNEST H. CROSBY, New York.

Committee.

The Peace Meetings at Turin.

The peace meeting in connection with the annual meeting of the Society of the International Peace Bureau, at Turin, Italy, from the 26th to the 28th of September, was attended by forty-seven delegates representing thirty-nine European peace societies. The *Herald of Peace*, whose editor was present, says that the meetings, which took the place of those of the annual peace congress, "were of a very useful and earnest character."

The meeting opened with a great gathering in the Hall of the University on Sunday morning, September 25. The Turin Peace Society had arranged this meeting to commemorate the centenary of the birth of Count Sclopis, the president of the Geneva Court of Arbitration. Addresses were made by Signor Luzzati, a distinguished barrister of Turin, who gave a historical ac-

count of the life and work of Count Sclopis, by Senator Tancredi, vice-president of the Italian Senate, who spoke on the peace movement from the time of the Angels' song down to the rescript of the Czar; and by Mr. Frederic Passy of Paris, who gave a stirring eulogium on Count Sclopis, as a citizen, statesman, historian and jurist.

The annual meeting of the Society of the Peace Bureau met on Monday morning under the presidency of Fredrik Bajer of Copenhagen.

In the afternoon a general meeting of all the delegates present was held. This meeting and the subsequent ones were presided over by Signor Luzzati, who "conducted himself with singular courtesy and firmness." The first business was the reading of the report of the work of the Peace Bureau during the year. In this Mr. Ducommun, the secretary, referred to the Spanish-American war as a great disappointment to the friends of peace both in the Old World and the New, and to their earnest efforts to prevent hostilities. The report also discussed the new outbreak in Crete, the difficulties in Africa, and the Czar's proposal for a conference on reduction of armaments "which was hailed with the utmost satisfaction."

A telegram was sent to the Czar expressing gratitude for his proposal and earnest hope that it might bear all the fruits which he hoped and the peoples expected.

A telegram of "respectful homage" was also sent to King Humbert, to which the King sent a reply of thanks.

These telegrams led to an earnest discussion of the Czar's proposal and of the practical action which should be taken on it. The following resolution was adopted by a large majority:

"This assembly of delegates of peace societies expresses the hope that all governments will give their sincere adhesion to the proposal of the Emperor of Russia; and that the proposed international conference will meet without delay, and proceed as soon as possible to fix a term to the indefinite increase of armaments. The conference, to avoid all dangers arising during the term of its labors, should propose to the nations the conclusion of a general treaty of permanent arbitration under defined pacific sanctions. This assembly expresses the hope that the labors of the international conference will serve as a point of departure for the gradual adoption of international law, safeguarding the independence of each nation and assuring justice among peoples, as well as the substitution of the reign of peace for the barbarous *régime* of war and the ruinous state of armed peace."

In the evening the delegates were entertained at a banquet given by the Turin Peace Society. Speeches were made by Signor Luzzati, Frederic Passy, J. Novicow, Dr. Darby, Samuel J. Capper, E. T. Moneta, Eli Ducommun, Gaston Moch, and others, the exercises being "of a lively character and the enthusiasm growing with the hours."

On Tuesday morning a complementary resolution to the one of the previous day was adopted, asking the peace societies to organize demonstrations in favor of the Czar's conference, and instructing the Peace Bureau to take whatever steps might seem useful in approaching the Czar, the Heads of governments and Ministers of state, or the members of the approaching conference, "with a view to producing the largest amount of happy results from the proposal of Nicholas II."

A discussion then took place on the part which the press ought to take in the peace movement. The subject of Councils of Conciliation proposed by Mr. Hodgson Pratt was referred to the Peace Bureau to report on next year. There was also an extended discussion of the subject of permanent treaties of arbitration, and a resolution on the subject was referred to the Peace Bureau for further study.

The afternoon of Tuesday was devoted to the discussion of an extended report made by Dr. Adolf Richter, on the subject of a College of Official Arbitrators. At this meeting Count Gurowski, president of the Nice Peace Society, called attention to the difficulties between Chili and Argentina, threatening hostilities, and offered to defray the expenses of sending a peace delegate to these countries. A resolution was unanimously adopted appointing a committee to prepare a telegram to the presidents of Chili and Argentina, and also an address to be forwarded through the ambassadors of these countries. There was likewise discussion, at this session, of the subject of "Transformation of Armies" and of "The Adoption of Latin as a Universal Language," but no official action was taken.

In the evening an enthusiastic meeting was held at the rooms of the Philological Club, at which addresses were made by General Türr and others, and a reading given by the Baroness von Suttner from one of her works.

On Wednesday, after a vote confirming a previous decision that the Peace Congress of 1900 should be held at Paris, the subject of permanent arbitration treaties was again taken up. Three resolutions on the subject were adopted, one congratulating the Italian and Argentine governments on the treaty of this kind recently adopted by them, the first of its kind to go into effect. Professor Corsi, of Pisa, gave interesting particulars of this treaty. The second resolution declared the time propitious for renewing negotiations for an Anglo-American Treaty. The third resolution, moved by Mr. J. G. Alexander of England, expressed the conviction that the benefits of civilization ought to be extended by peaceful means alone, and protested against the destructive colonial policy practiced by European nations against weaker races. A committee was appointed to propose to the next peace congress some practical measure on the subject.

An "Appeal to the Nations," prepared by Mr. Ducommun, secretary of the Peace Bureau, was adopted by acclamation, and after the passing of votes of thanks the meeting closed.

In the evening a magnificent banquet was given to the delegates by the Municipality of Turin, at which speeches were made by a number of prominent European peace workers.

On the following day the delegates were taken on an excursion to Torre Pellice, in the Vaudois Valleys of Piedmont. They were received by the authorities of the town, given a *déjeuner* at the Hotel de l'Ours, and then attended a meeting in the Hall of the Vaudois Church, where six hundred of the inhabitants were assembled. This meeting, the *Herald of Peace*, from which we have summarized these accounts, describes as an extended one, short addresses being given by sixteen different speakers.

We notice in the account of the Turin meetings the names of a number of the most prominent peace workers

of Europe, and also evidences that interest and enthusiastic devotion to the cause of peace are as strong as ever.

Ex-Senator Edmunds' Opinion of Philippine Annexation.

1724 Spruce Street,
Philadelphia, Nov. 7, 1898.

My Dear Governor—Yours of the 2d inst. was duly received, asking me to state what I think respecting the proposed acquisition of the Philippine Islands by the United States. As you know, that archipelago consists of 1000 or 1200 islands, embracing 114,000 square miles, and extending over a large area of the Pacific and the China Sea, in the heart of the tropics. It is subject to, and frequently experiences, earthquakes and hurricanes. It contains altogether about 7,000,000 of inhabitants, being about sixty to the square mile, and just about double the population of Vermont to the square mile.

Before the war with Spain, I take it that nine-tenths of the intelligent people of the United States would have thought it bordering on madness to have taken those islands into our domain. Their population is almost entirely what may fairly be called savage, and absolutely incapable of anything that civilization would call self-government. And if their inhabitants were as peaceable as the best of other tropical countries, they would still be (as all experience has proved) incapable of governing themselves. Our only motive for their acquisition, therefore, must be the material advantages supposed by some to flow from our controlling the products of the islands and their trade. We get all the products of the islands now that we wish for, and on the same terms that other nations do. If we take them the cost will be precisely the same, unless we adopt the ancient colonial policy of Great Britain and some other nations, in controlling their trade exclusively, and allow it to be carried on only in our own ships. In that case, retaliation will certainly follow, and our ships and goods will be excluded, in like manner, from the colonial possessions of the great manufacturing and trading Powers, which would leave the balance of disadvantages vastly against us.

In a business point of view we must take into consideration the cost of governing the islands. This cost cannot, in all human probability, be met by the taxation of the inhabitants to any considerable extent. Nature supplies them with substantially all the food and clothing they require, and they are, of course, indisposed to labor or thrift. If we take them we must govern them by external power, and not through any autonomy of their own. This means a large and expensive civil list—governors, councillors, administrators, officers of justice, and so forth, and so forth, who must, in the main, be paid out of the treasury of the United States. The climate is, of course, very unwholesome for Americans, and the death rate of our officers there would be very large. It will also require an American army of defence and for the preservation of peace and order, of many thousand men, and an American navy of six or more ships, and probably 2000 men, all exposed, like the civilians, to the constant hostility of the climate, to say nothing of that of the inhabitants of most, if not all, of the islands. Are we, under such circumstances, to force a government upon them?

The present condition between ourselves and Spain in

regard to the islands is, as the protocol of armistice distinctly shows, that we have not obtained the islands, and that all our rights that were recognized there were those of holding the bay and city of Manila and their environments, until peace should be established. What was to be done with the whole group was left for negotiations, which our commissioners at Paris are now engaged in. If then, we are to get them without the cession of Spain, we must do it by force of further war against Spain, and probably by force of arms against the vast majority of the inhabitants, who, so far as I know, have shown no disposition to be annexed to the United States.

Are we, then, to attempt to force civilization and the Christian religion upon them, as Mohammed made his proselytes? This, of course, would be expressly contrary to our Declaration of Independence, and to the principles upon which the government of the United States rests. How many lives of their sons do Vermont and the other states of our solid and homogeneous Union wish to sacrifice to accomplish it, and how many more annually hereafter in governing these islands? Our few months' experience at Manila and in nearby Cuba and Porto Rico should make us awake to these questions. What "logic" or what "humanity" demands or even tempts us to this sort of "imperialism"? Let the advocates of such an enterprise point out definitely what are the grounds for such a course. Congress has solemnly pledged the national honor and faith that we had no purpose of territorial aggrandizement, even as to Cuba, only 100 miles from our shores. It is true, the victor in war is entitled to indemnity; but the victor who has made war for humanity has no right to be extortionate because he is strong. The cession of Porto Rico, and one of the Ladrões for a coaling station and refuge on the way from our Western coast to Asiatic ports is ample for every expense of the war that can be measured by money value. Even Porto Rico would be, as a part of the United States, an injury to us in the long run, but for its situation in connection with the Nicaragua Canal. Already some newspaper writers have opened the question of its admission as a State of the Union, with senators having an equal voice in making laws for this country with that of the senators from Vermont or New York or any other State. The sober-minded inhabitants of each of the States should consider the enormous danger of introducing such elements and such a power into the Senate, where all our States stand equal, and which, as John Adams described it, is "the sheet anchor of the Republic," and the only security of State rights.

Porto Rico, like every other tropical country, even if it were not already fully populated, will not admit of North American settlement and development on account of its climate. The experience of hundreds of years, all over the tropical parts of the globe, has demonstrated this. So it is only in view of its location in relation to the waterway across the continent that it is desirable to us. Why, then, should we wish, or be willing, to receive the Philippines?

I might enlarge upon this subject, but what I have said states concisely what I think, and why I am opposed to the acquisition of these islands.

I am sincerely yours,

GEORGE F. EDMUNDS.

The Hon. J. W. Stewart, Middlebury, Vt.